

SEVENTH ANNUAL CONVENTION

Seventh Annual Convention

of the

Association of History
Teachers of the Middle
States and Maryland



2699

HELD IN PHILADELPHIA, MARCH TWELFTH AND
THIRTEENTH, NINETEEN HUNDRED NINE

Price, Twenty-five Cents

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OFFICERS AND COUNCIL, 1909-1910

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SYNOPSIS OF PROCEEDINGS

FRIDAY AFTERNOON

Topic: "How to make History Teaching more Definite."

James Harvey Robinson, Columbia University.

Jessie C. Evans, Girls' High School, Philadelphia.

John L. Stewart, Lehigh University.

Discussion: Cheesman A. Herrick, Philadelphia.

Edward P. Cheyney, University of Pennsylvania.

Robert H. Wright, Eastern High School, Baltimore.

W. D. Renninger, Central High School, Philadelphia.

S. B. Howe, Jr., High School, Plainfield, N. J.

D. C. Knowlton, Barringer High School, Newark, N. J.

Livingston Rowe Schuyler, College of the City of New York.

Clara Byrnes, Normal College of the City of New York.

FRIDAY EVENING

Address: "A General Outline of Diplomatic Life and Diplomatic Procedure," the Honorable Charlemagne Tower, late United States Ambassador to Germany.

Reception tendered to ladies of the Association by the Teachers' Club of Philadelphia.

Informal gathering at the Schoolmen's Club.

SATURDAY MORNING

Topic: "Influence of Peace Power upon History."

William I. Hull, Swarthmore College.

William E. Lingelbach, University of Pennsylvania.

Stanley R. Yarnall, Principal of Friends' School, Germantown.

Business Meeting: Reports and election of officers.

Appropriate resolutions were adopted extending the thanks of the Association to the Honorable Charlemagne Tower for his address, to the people of Philadelphia for their hospitality, and to the American Book Company for the publication of the *Proceedings* of the Association.

On motion of Livingston Rowe Schuyler, a resolution was adopted providing for a committee of five on local conferences, the committee to be composed of the president and secretary of the Association and of three members appointed by the president. The president appointed Sarah A. Dynes, Eleanor L. Lord and Livingston Rowe Schuyler.

The names of the officers and council elected for 1909-10 are printed on page 3.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE COUNCIL

At the meeting of the council, New York was, on invitation of the College of the City of New York, selected as the place for the next convention of the Association. The dates (fixed by the Constitution) will be March 11th and 12th, 1910.

HOW TO MAKE HISTORY TEACHING MORE DEFINITE

JAMES HARVEY ROBINSON

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, NEW YORK

The troubles of the conscientious and thoughtful teacher of history are peculiarly insistent and perturbing. Other subjects of instruction relate to pretty well defined fields of knowledge. Geography, arithmetic, reading, chemistry or botany have well established "elements" to be taught. Of course, the instruction may vary considerably in these fields in method and emphasis, but the ends to be gained are generally agreed upon, if not always attained. With history it is different. The field to be covered seems hopelessly vast and ill-delimited and the ends to be reached highly uncertain and vague. History may once have had its "elements." One was supposed to have mastered these when he could give the dates of the battle of Issus and the Fall of Rome, recite the list of the Anglo-Saxon kings and tell the story of Pocahontas. The authors of the older manuals of Universal History harbored no doubts of the value and authenticity of the facts and anecdotes which they gave, and the teacher patiently and unquestioningly inculcated them, with such success that pupils with good patient memories could reproduce them with verbal accuracy on their examination papers. But now it appears that many of the alleged facts in the older manuals were gross mistakes and misapprehensions; that even the true assertions were unenlightened and only served to burden the learner's mind with useless names and dates which brought no understanding of the past with them. Impressed with all this, the Committee of Ten, meeting at Madison, and the succeeding Committee of Seven deprecated attempts to deal with universal history in a single year and advocated the substitution of courses in Ancient, Mediaeval and Modern European History, English and American History, to each of which a year should if possible be devoted. This moderate degree of specialization would, it was hoped, do away with the mere memorizing of meaningless facts and give an opportunity for a real study and understanding

of the past. The result of these recommendations and the general progress of historical studies in our universities have combined to raise the standards of historical instruction in the schools and much work is now carried on on a far higher plane than any dreamed of twenty years ago. A considerable number of text books, "source books" and outlines have appeared which have sought to make a sagacious selection of themes for study and supply illustrative material and suggestions for collateral reading. In spite, however, of the excellent work that is being done by the better prepared teachers such as one meets at these meetings, and the hopeful increase of historical manuals and aids of one kind and another, our troubles do not seem to be at an end. The two chief concrete difficulties, it appears to me, are the growing appreciation of the importance of recent history, hitherto sadly neglected, and the corresponding suspicion that we have been allotting far too much time to Greek, Roman and Mediaeval times. In order to make a place for recent history something will have to go, and the question is, what? Then there is the old trouble about college entrance examinations. Teachers in the schools complain that they cannot pursue the enlightened methods they would otherwise adopt, owing to the necessity of meeting the requirements of the college entrance or of the Regents' examinations. The colleges, on the other hand, find in general that the historical instruction in the schools does not form a satisfactory basis for the history courses in college since there is a great uncertainty as to the field or fields of study which the student has covered in the schools, along with a complete assurance that he retains no satisfactory knowledge of any historical facts whatever. It would seem, therefore, that the teachers are sacrificing their ideas of right teaching without the slightest advantage to the colleges since the colleges would commonly prefer to have students come without having had any history in school rather than with no available knowledge of what they have had.

A committee of the American Historical Association, consisting of five members representing the schools and colleges, has been appointed to reconsider some of the recommendations of the Report of the Committee of Seven. This new committee must take up

the two difficulties which I have mentioned. I can not tell what remedies it may suggest, but the members will not, I am sure, wish to do anything that does not meet the approval of the more enlightened teachers in the schools, and the committee would feel its weight of responsibility much lightened if the teachers would freely offer suggestions and make their wishes known. Dr. Sullivan and I, who have the honor to belong to the committee, have considered a possible solution of the problems which face us and have conferred with several of our colleagues in regard to it. It is this tentative and as yet quite unelaborated plan that I am taking the liberty of describing to you to-day with the hope that you may aid the committee of which Prof. McLaughlin of Chicago is chairman, to reach a wise conclusion in regard to it.

The question is this: Would it be feasible and advisable for the American Historical Association to appoint a committee consisting of prominent representatives of the schools and colleges to prepare a list of topics in Ancient, Greek, Roman and Mediaeval History which it deemed most essential and which would for the time being, and always subject to revision, be considered as the "elements" of History, so far as the fields mentioned are concerned. The Association would then recommend to the colleges and to the examination boards that they agree to accept the list of topics as the basis of their entrance examination questions and base their papers upon them. I can not say what opposition the plan would meet or what serious objections might develop, but it would seem at first sight at least to offer a solution to our double problem. The teacher who wished to cover Ancient, Classical and Mediaeval History rapidly with a view of later assigning a whole year to modern history would have in the list of topics, a guide to what should be emphasized,—a guide, it would be hoped, that would represent the best scholarship and the most approved teaching in the country. Those teachers who wish to continue to follow the advice of the Committee of Seven and devote a year to ancient history might still see that their students were fully prepared on the topics recommended, however much historical knowledge they might acquire in addition. As for the colleges since they agreed to confine their questions to the published topics, they could demand a *practically*

perfect paper from the entrance students, and the present low and vacillating standard would be done away with. It would seem that in this way one might at once secure the definiteness which is so much to be desired and which is so conspicuously absent now, and at the same time leave the teachers in the schools to follow their own best judgment with the single limitation of seeing that the students who were preparing for college were in a position to deal intelligently and accurately with the topics on the list.

Some of you who may perhaps be willing to concede that such a list might produce the useful results which I have mentioned, will doubt the possibility of constructing a satisfactory one and suspect that the plan is only a new name for the old futile and discredited attempt to teach universal history. I do not underrate the difficulty of preparing the list of topics and I am not sure that it may not prove to be so great that the whole scheme will have to be abandoned. But I invite your attention to the fact that we are tending more and more to a topical method of treating history. Our object is not so much to induce the student to learn a series of events as to understand so far as possible past conditions and see how things come about. Attention to persons and events is often only a means of reaching this end. Indeed so many persons and events may be mentioned that the conditions will be missed altogether. In dealing with Ancient History, we say little of persons, or of events, mainly because we know very little about them. No persons or events are known in the stone and bronze ages, Egyptian, Babylonian and Assyrian records furnish a good many names of kings and some happenings, but in the main we have, per force, to confine ourselves to the general conditions in the two river valleys and the great changes. The result is that all this older matter is easily and effectively and interestingly taught. It would not be difficult to formulate a list of topics to test the pupil's knowledge; a list that would form an excellent basis for farther historical study in college. But could not the same be done for Greek History? Why should we not attempt to settle in our own minds what we regard as most valuable in the study of ancient Greece and then set to work to present this, adding as much more as there is time for?

I do not pretend to be in any way qualified to prepare the

list in question, especially in the field of Greek and Roman History. But my aloofness from the subject may perhaps furnish a certain perspective, for I can tell better than one better versed in the field what remains in the mind of an adult as the precipitate of a study of Greek and Roman development. Surely a student might be expected to know something of the newly discovered Mycenaean age and the activity of the archaeologists. He ought to be able to tell what the Iliad and Odyssey are about, and memorize the names of some of Homer's gods. Then there is the memorable Spartan notion of government ascribed to Lycurgus; the dread of the Greeks lest they be Medized, and their success under Attic leadership in repulsing Xerxes and his hosts. The Athens of Pericles, with its temples and statues—but not necessarily its statutes—should be familiar to everyone. Tyranny and Democracy and Oligarchy should have some meaning for the student, as well as the curious city state so remote from our notions. The disastrous rivalry and disgusting fighting between the chief Greek towns could be made clear without any detailed account of the Peloponnesian War. One readily forgets the details of Athenian constitutional organization which I would gladly see eliminated and reserved for college study. Then there is Socrates and Plato, to whom we owe almost all our ideas of his master. Aristophanes might be made real, in the way Professor Botsford has introduced his satire or from the toned-down but very lively and felicitous versions of Freer. We might aspire to give a boy or girl a little notion of the vast range of Aristotle's books and explain his ideas of virtue as the golden mean and his conception of the "high-minded" man. Then there is Alexander and his conquests. Perhaps the great tragedians could be introduced. These are all that linger in the minds of even well-educated adults. A course that managed to give a student so much of the really permanently interesting in Greek life might afford to subordinate or suppress everything else so far as it did not serve to re-enforce these fundamental matters. A little of Herodotus and Thucydides is better than a great deal of text book, no matter how skillfully devised. As for Rome, everything before the Punic Wars could be condensed under the heading, "How Rome Became the Rival of Carthage." Roman history

before Augustus can center in the growth of the Empire and in the periods of the Gracchi and of Cicero. If we once asked ourselves fairly and squarely what we were really aiming at in teaching our boys and girls about Greece and Rome, I believe that our work could be greatly simplified and rendered far more definite and permanent in its results than it now is. It will be urged that we must follow the plan of existing text books, and perhaps we must for the moment, but so soon as a new type of book is needed it is likely to appear. The fact in any case remains, that our historical instruction is susceptible of almost indefinite improvement. We must teach fewer things and teach them much better.

I am inclined to believe that history should always have some assignable relation to our own life and times. One of my newly arrived graduate students, when I asked her what had been interesting her especially, answered "the manorial system." I asked her if she was interested in farming as it went on about her to-day. She said, "No." I ventured to suggest that her devotion to the agricultural conditions in the middle ages, about which we were very imperfectly informed, seemed singular in view of her indifference to rural matters now. I do not mean to say that a member of a peace society may not describe with enthusiasm the Battle of the Nations at Leipzig, or a wearer of the white ribbon may not properly master the several varieties of wine mentioned by Horace and the several kinds of jars in which they were kept. I do not mean that an historical student should be forced to pledge himself to take a lively interest in the contemporary aspects of what he finds attracting his attention in the past. Nevertheless, the artificiality of a great part of those things about the past which we give our students in the schools is exposed by the searching question, What's the good of it after all? The problem is, of course, to discover what is good. I believe that it is good for a boy or girl to know about the grey-eyed Athene and the Parthenon and the capital of a Corinthian column. I do not believe that half the facts in the best text books are really worth trying to impress on the memory of our school children unless these facts are used chiefly as a means of re-enforcing, illustrating and enlivening a very few great and suggestive truths in regard to the past of mankind.

HOW TO MAKE DEFINITE A REFERENCE COURSE IN HISTORY IN HIGH SCHOOLS

JESSIE C. EVANS

GIRLS' HIGH SCHOOL, PHILADELPHIA

It seems almost heresy to talk about anything but college entrance requirements and the Committee of Seven at one of these meetings. Those have been the main themes at every meeting which I have attended. I hope I may be forgiven, then, if I take your time in telling of the work which we are doing in our school. Many teachers seem to feel that it is impossible to give reading courses to young students and keep the work definite. There may be some who are in despair at the thought, as I once was, and who will be interested in the methods which we have found useful.

In our course in American History in the third year of the high school we have an unusual opportunity to try experiments, for we are bound by no regents or college entrance examinations, because our students go either to normal school or to colleges accepting certificates. We have decided, then, to study the period from 1760 to 1860, and to follow especially the line of constitutional development, with emphasis on the causes of the Revolution and of the Civil War. We believe with the Committee of Seven that, "It is more important that pupils should acquire a knowledge of what history is and how it should be studied than that they should cover any particular field," and this field is especially adapted for thoughtful study.

The core of the work is a text book and a syllabus based on it. In addition to this, pupils are required to do collateral reading, securing the books from the branches of the public library. These books are supplemented by a small school library. For this work the students are carefully taught at the beginning of the year the

use of a card catalogue and the index and table of contents of reference books. The list of references and topical outline for a whole period (i.e. Causes of the Revolution) are given to the class before the work on the period starts, so that they may see the plan and aim of the work at the beginning. Then, using the outline, one or more topics are assigned for a lesson, to be prepared from text and reference books. In class the students are sharply questioned on the text. The topic is then opened to volunteers, who give additional points gained from other books. Next the accounts are compared, discussed and summarized in note books. Records are kept each day of students who volunteer and those who do not, and they are graded accordingly.

The advantages of the method are many, but the most important is the training of the critical faculty. To be sure each girl has only one book, and many have poor books, but the comparison of accounts in class shows the qualities of the books and trains the students not to trust one account, but to test all. It is good practice for them to analyze and reconcile conflicting accounts. If a satisfactory result cannot be reached the matter is postponed for further investigation and is brought up again at a later lesson. For instance, the other day the question came up as to whether the preliminary secret agreement made between the English and American agents in 1783, previous to the Treaty of Paris, was actually signed as Lecky states, and if so if that were not a violation of the Treaty of 1778 between the United States and France. Other authors quoted in class did not mention the signing, and as it had not come to my notice before, we had to postpone the question until we had searched further. As another way to bring out the comparison and criticism of books, the members of the class are occasionally questioned about them directly. Is the book conveniently arranged? Is it written in an interesting manner? What do you know of the author? Does he treat the subject clearly, completely, impartially? Would he have any reason for a bias one way or the other? The last question comes up often in our study of the causes of the Revolution.

We decided to begin our course with 1760 because the Revolution is so plainly a two-sided subject that it gives opportunity at

once to show the contrast in opinions of authors and to develop the critical faculty and judgment. Then, too, we feel that this period needs such treatment, for most of the girls come to us with the strong prejudice held by the majority of Americans on the subject. To instance our treatment by one topic: If we ask for the purpose for which the Stamp Act was levied, we always receive the answer, "To pay the expenses of the French and Indian War," and we find that much indignation is spent upon England for her injustice in taxing the people for that, when they had already paid their share. The students are then asked to find out what was the real purpose of the tax, and when they discover that it was to protect the colonies from attack by means of a standing army, the face of the matter is changed. The discussion of Parliament's right to tax the colonies under a strict interpretation of the British Constitution is also a fruitful one. Is it unpatriotic to show that England had some right on her side? We agree with what Robert Flint says in his "History of Philosophy in France," as quoted by Professor Bourne, that "History serves patriotism best when she maintains a severe impartiality and critical independence of judgment, and tells the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, however unpleasant to patriotism that may be."

Another advantage of the method is that it trains in the use of books, an accomplishment astonishingly rare even among educated people. This is useful to the students in their other school work, in later work at college or normal school and in after life. They know how to find a book, how to get what they want out of it without reading it all, and how to value its statements.

To the teacher the work is full of interest because of the freedom of discussion. She is also constantly adding to her store of learning and so keeps up fresh interest in her work. One of our teachers who was given two sections in the American History this year, for the first time, decided before the middle of the year that she would like a full roster of it next year. Nor is the method to be dreaded by beginners, for it can be applied with only slight knowledge of the range of reference books. The teacher learns with her class and adds to her stores from year to year—in fact, I think the work even gains in zest from the feeling of

the class that the teacher is a student with them. Of course much depends on the teacher—not only is good judgment necessary, but enthusiasm is most important. Pupils cannot be driven in this kind of work, but must be led on by interest.

The much discussed sources we use as illustrations of the topics, not as the foundation of work. They are valuable of course in making ideas more vivid and concrete and securing realization of the past. Some are merely read to the class after explanation of the subject—as the extracts in Hart's *Contemporaries* from the speeches in the Senate on the Compromise of 1850. These show more forcibly than any description the three positions on the compromise represented by Webster, Calhoun, and Seward. After the reading more points are developed from the selections by questions. Other sources are analyzed at length in class, each student using a copy. So we treat the Webster-Hayne Debate, as given in the *American History Leaflets*, and after the argument is thoroughly understood, we argue it out again ourselves—some taking Webster's side and some Hayne's.

To make this general reading course definite we have the ground work of the text book and syllabus always before us. The note-books are kept on a special system, carefully required, and contain syllabus, references, summaries of the class work on each topic and notes on private reading. Frequent reviews are given either by fluent recitations on whole topics, or by search questions which call for the fundamental points on the period covered. The written exercises, also, help to secure definiteness. Of these we consider the weekly papers important. They follow the plan used by Professor Hart at Harvard—that is—a broad topic based on some part of the week's work is given to the student and she writes a discussion of it in the class room. The Harvard paper consumes twenty minutes, but we allow only ten. Regular tests or examinations occur several times during the year.

The most difficult part of the written work is the written report prepared once or twice a year outside of class on an extended topic. These topics are assigned some weeks before due (a different one to each member of the class) and with each is furnished a list of references. Each student also receives a copy of directions as to

the use of books and preparation of the subject. We encourage a consultation on the work before it is carried very far, and require an outline or brief to be submitted for criticism before the paper is completed. The subjects are nearly always framed so as to require search, for instance, "Was Uncle Tom's Cabin a True Picture of Slavery?" For this the girls consult the accounts of other observers, such as Olmstead's "Cotton Kingdom," Harriet Martineau's "Western Travel," and make comparisons with Mrs. Stowe's descriptions. The report closes with the names of references used. In not many of our reports are we able to use original sources, but we base most of them on good secondary works. The preparation of these papers secures a wider use of books, and an appreciation of the relative value of evidence. The acquaintance with libraries is valuable, too, for many learn to like to work among great collections of books. You would be surprised at the fondness of the girls for the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. They are made very welcome there and really like to visit it.

At least twice a year we plan to have debates. These are usually connected with the causes of the Revolution and of the Civil War, and are the culmination of our work on those periods. Good effects are secured from them in mental development and increased interest in the work.

Any secondary teacher who has not tried work of this sort can have little idea of its attractions. The quick play of thought, the enthusiasm over new discoveries, the keen interest in any controversy, all make the lesson hour a time to look forward to. It gives power to use books, ability to analyze a thought, to express ideas clearly. It makes for training in character, because it teaches the students to be absolutely fair, seeking for both sides of every question; to debate clearly and without anger; and above all to be able to suspend judgment. How few educated people can do that!

A reference course in secondary schools, therefore, is most valuable, can be managed by means of public libraries and can be made definite.

DISCUSSION

EDWARD P. CHEYNEY, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia :

I differ with the remarks of Professor Stewart that history as a subject of interest does not hold a sufficiently high place in public estimation. The vast number of general works of history sold every year by subscription through the country, most of them very poor, shows the desire of the people to be instructed in history. The fact that history is taught for so many years in most schools indicates that the authorities of the schools desire that it shall be given large consideration. Most colleges require one course at least of history and offer numerous electives and these electives are in great demand. There is abundant attention given to history, the problem is how it shall be satisfactorily taught. I also differ with Professor Stewart in regard to the relative importance of what is taught and how it is taught. The solution of our problems is to be found, not in the choice of historical material, but in the treatment of whatever material is chosen. This was shown by Miss Evans' address, in which the success attained was due not at all to the special interest of the period chosen or the matter studied, but to the manner in which the course was organized and carried on. I commend the plan of selected and agreed upon topics, suggested by Dr. Robinson, as desirable from several points of view, one of which is the liberty it would give to the high school teacher to carry on his work without undue attention to the college entrance examinations, which are to follow. I make a plea for greater independence of judgment on the part of the high school teacher, and I believe that if the teachers would give their pupils what they find to be the best course in history in the light of their own experience and as a result of their own judgment, this would prove to be an entirely satisfactory course to the college authorities.

ROBERT H. WRIGHT, Eastern High School, Baltimore :

This is a vital subject and one that needs solving, but we have gone at it in the wrong way. In my judgment, this is a problem for the secondary schools and will have to be worked out by them,

not by the colleges. I have been very much interested in our programme to-day. We have on it, to solve a high school problem, two university men and one high school woman. This high school teacher very wisely limits her remarks to that phase of the subject not within the limits of the college preparatory realm. She does this because she finds the most interesting field for activity—interesting to teacher and pupils—beyond the pale of college entrance restrictions. In this field, she is free to use those methods and teach those facts suited to the needs of her pupils; and thus she can vitalize her teaching. She is not hampered with college entrance requirements, but is free to serve to her classes the intellectual food they hunger for—she can adjust her work to the needs of her pupils.

I was much interested in the fifteen topics outlined by Dr. Robinson. It reminded me of an experience I had with a class in Greek History. I asked the following question: "Name the three leading Greek philosophers and tell what each taught." (It may be that my question was not well stated.) I got from one youth the following answer: "Socrates, Plato and Aristotle. Socrates taught Plato and Plato taught Aristotle." It may not be that that is all the philosophy the youth got, but it does illustrate the folly of giving matter to first year pupils that only college men can comprehend. We must, I repeat it, be left free to adjust the subject to the stage of mental development of the pupil.

In our secondary schools, we shall be driven to disregard the demands of the colleges and feed to the youths food they can assimilate and let the colleges take our product. This will, in my humble opinion, better meet their demands than what we are now doing.

The secondary schools are indebted to the colleges for starting them in the right direction. College entrance requirements have been invaluable to the preparatory schools by giving us a high standard, but to-day they are one of the most damaging things to the progress of high school pupils. This is a secondary school problem, and to be properly solved, it must be solved by the conscientious teachers in the secondary schools, and until it is done in this way, it will never be properly done. We have started in the wrong way.

The third address on the problem of how to make history teaching more definite was given by John L. Stewart of Lehigh University. Professor Stewart spoke informally and his address could not be secured for publication.

W. D. RENNINGER, Central High School, Philadelphia:

I am a teacher in a secondary school, but I wish to say a word for the college examiner. I have not felt hampered in my teaching by his requirements. I am free to teach what I consider important. My greatest difficulty in this matter is to satisfy myself as to what should be taught with definiteness. Generally I agree with those who maintain that history should be taught to explain the evolution of our institutions, to explain how our civilization came to be as it is to-day, but at times I find myself acting in sympathy with those who maintain that history should reconstruct the past merely for the interest of the student. It would be much easier to determine what to teach if we could all agree on one or the other of these ends. Should we teach Greek History as a part of General History, as an explanation of our civilization to-day, or as a History of Greece without reference to the later history?

I should welcome such a list of general topics as Professor Robinson suggests. It would lessen the *diversity* of college requirements. It would help me to determine what to teach. Meanwhile, the important thing for the secondary teacher is to determine on some definite things to teach and not merely to teach through the books, valuing one page as another. If the secondary teacher teaches *well* some definite things that are important, he will not feel hampered by college entrance examinations, for the character of his work will be recognized, even if the examiner hits upon only a few of the things that were taught. Not only will the work be more pleasant for the teacher and more profitable for the student, if the teacher is not overconscious of the college requirements, but students will be better prepared for college.

S. B. HOWE, JR., High School, Plainfield, New Jersey:

I feel that we have perhaps been overestimating the mental calibre of our high school girls and boys, especially those in the first two years of high school work. Too much of the philosophy of history is sure to give the beginning high school student a severe case of mental dyspepsia. For the favored schools whose courses in history are given five periods per week throughout a year, the requirements of the college entrance board do not seem excessive. It is true, however, that many schools, in fact the majority of schools, are not able to spare as much time as that to history.

For such schools, the suggestions made by Dr. Robinson, and the list of topics presented by him, seem a step in the right direction. There are several advantages to be gained from the adoption of a limited number of topics required for college entrance. Nearly

every teacher has his or her particular fads in teaching, or likes to give special emphasis to certain periods or to certain men. By the limitation of the general field, it will be possible for the teacher to present attractively and satisfactorily the special field in which he is most interested, which will benefit the students more. A second advantage will be that the schools that are now vainly attempting to meet the college requirements on the extensive ground will be enabled to comfortably meet the altered requirements on the intensive ground. A third advantage, and one that appeals very strongly to those of us who believe in the greater emphasis on modern history, will be that the required topics in ancient history and additional topics in mediaeval history can be covered in one year's work, and that in this way time can be found for more thorough work in modern history.

That the adoption of such a list of topics is both practicable and helpful along the line of definiteness, we have proved at Plainfield during the present school year. Desiring to give greater emphasis to modern history, we planned to cut down the time usually assigned to ancient and mediaeval history, with the result that we are comfortably covering ancient and mediaeval history in one year's work in three first year high school classes. This has been accomplished by the selection of a limited number of topics in many cases identical with those read by Dr. Robinson, and by the elimination of a vast amount of material formerly considered necessary for a proper understanding of ancient history.

I hope that the Committee of Five will come to some agreement and make recommendations of some such topics in order that we may have the official sanction upon our work.

D. C. KNOWLTON, Barringer High School, Newark, N. J.:

I believe that as secondary teachers of history we are not so much concerned with the question of how to secure definiteness in the college entrance examinations as how to make the work in the class-room more definite. There is every reason to believe that the college examining boards are coming around to the point of view of the secondary teacher as to the character and scope of the examination and that they will soon meet on common ground. I heartily approve of Professor Robinson's suggestion as to topics. The only question which he raised in my mind was the possibility of covering successfully those which he suggested if we are to prepare the student for the proposed work of the second year, in view of the time at our disposal and the immaturity of the students. Our history course begins with the first, or at the latest with the second academic year, and our students are therefore very immature.

There is only one respect in which we feel the incubus of the entrance examinations here, and that is in the expectation that these students will carry this information over to the last year of their high school course. The result is that we often have third and fourth year students in the same class with beginners in history.

This problem of definiteness in the class-room is largely one of method. I have found several devices helpful in securing definiteness. First of all I think that each student should have a topical outline which will suggest the points upon which emphasis is to be placed. I do not mean by this that he is necessarily to recite topically. Another device which I have tried, but without a great deal of success as yet, is to insist that the student shall write up a summary of the main points touched upon in the recitation. I am now trying the plan in an elementary course in Modern European History of writing up the recitation myself and placing these summaries in the hands of the student. Thus far it has proved very successful. I may add that I have a very poor type of student in this class.

It seems to me that this question of definiteness in the recitation hinges largely upon our aim in teaching. I think that the appeal must be made, as was so ably set forth at a previous meeting of this association, through the eye and the emotions. In this way we can realize the best results from our teaching.

LIVINGSTON ROWE SCHUYLER, College of the City of New York:

I should like to hear from the elementary teachers what their pupils are doing in history. It is upon this work that we must build later and a good part of our success depends upon this earlier preparation.

CLARA BYRNES, Normal College, New York:

Dr. Schuyler has asked what is being done in the elementary schools to make the teaching of history definite. * * * I have not the pleasure of teaching small children, but I have at present a class of seniors at the Normal College who are studying methods of teaching history in secondary schools, and working with them has led me to think and to talk a great deal with principals and teachers about the history work in the New York public schools. Here, the children who are to reach us later in the high schools are getting their simple historical ideas put into some sort of sequence. It seems to me that just now the history teaching in our New York schools is good,—that within the last few years we have struck the right line of interest. I think that even with the very little ones—though naturally the teaching here is very simple and

picturesque—the associations with the great historical holidays are embodied in forms that they understand, and that these little children get the hero-stories with simple definiteness. I am thinking of an instance when the children heard the Mayflower legends, acted out the story of John Alden and Priscilla, and even shaped Peregrine White's cradle. This illustration of the historical narrative is carried on through higher grades, and seems to me to make for a very human and sympathetic attitude toward history. I wonder if you know about the plan of dramatic representation of the facts of history. To play out the history story, to be the history people, is a thing children love to do of themselves, and these dramatic instincts of theirs have been used to excellent purpose in some of our New York schools. A very interesting performance of the Lincoln story was given just recently by some foreign children. I think we have reason to believe that our history work with these younger boys and girls is growing in power and charm and definiteness.

I must confess I have been disappointed in the line our discussion has taken. I was selfish enough to come down here to get something definite on the subject of definiteness. But I am beginning to feel that the college entrance requirements are dominating our whole thought this afternoon. I feel that with some of us the college entrance requirements have become an obsession. I do not believe in saying, "Go ahead and teach as you wish. Forget the college entrance requirements." If students come to us in good faith, expecting us to prepare them to pass entrance examinations, it is our business to see that they do pass them if this can be brought about by good honest teaching.

I am beginning to think that I care less about definiteness than I thought. If you mean by this, remembering things, even big things, I am not willing to make a fetich of it. It seems to me we are taking a rather selfish line of argument all through. We want definiteness, we want good results, we want to make a better showing on the college entrance examinations, we want to meet the criticisms of the college entrance board. It is ourselves we are thinking about. Well, it is our business to send our boys and girls on, with better trained minds than when they came to us, readier to find and read books, more interested in other human beings—more socialized, if you like. I remember hearing a great history teacher say once that she wished students came to college without having been taught history in the high school at all. I do not care whether the students who come to me remember anything of the facts back of them, if they are ready to be interested, and willing to hunt up the things they have forgotten, if they need them.

Do not let us grow fretful over college entrance examinations. We think too much about all sorts of examinations. If narrowing down our preparation to certain great topics, as Dr. Robinson suggests, will help us and help our students, let us do that. If expanding our work, or allowing ourselves more individuality, will help us and them to be bigger and broader, then let us do that. As for me, I do not admit that history is at present taught vaguely or indefinitely. I believe that it is taught very well, but that we can always teach it better.

THE INFLUENCE OF PEACE POWER UPON HISTORY

WILLIAM I. HULL

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Captain Alfred Thayer Mahan, of the United States Navy and member of the first Peace Conference at The Hague, has written a book which the English-speaking world, in its lighter moments of ease, greatly loves to read. This book is a glorification of the part played in history by the British and American navies, and is entitled "The Influence of Sea Power upon History." I am informed that it has been reprinted twenty times within nineteen years. It is true, as some advertising pages in its back proclaim, that the War and Navy Departments of the United States Government purchased one large impression of it for use in the libraries of our army and navy, and that the British Government supplied copies of it to the cruising ships of the Royal Navy; but it is also true that the student of history and the general reader, although not agreeing with the British Admiral Tryon's verdict that "it is the best thing ever written," have nevertheless accorded it a splendid market.

Captain Mahan has, accordingly, achieved fame, fortune, and high position. So did Prince Metternich; and, like Metternich, Captain Mahan is also a reactionary. It is true that as a servant of a government of the people, by the people, and for the people, on the eve of the Twentieth Century, Captain Mahan has not had the golden opportunity for *political* reaction which was afforded the Austrian minister in the palmy days of the Holy Alliance; but in his day and in his way, he has proved worthy of his Old World prototype.

For example: As a delegate of the United States Government to the first Peace Conference at The Hague, in the year that his glorification of sea power reached its fifteenth impression, he was permitted to cast the vote of the United States delegation *against* the prohibition of the use of projectiles the object of which is the diffusion of asphyxiating or deleterious gases. The American and

the British votes were the only negative ones cast against this humane and progressive prohibition, which was adopted by the twenty-four other delegations present. At the second Hague Conference, the British Government gave its support to this prohibition, and the Latin American republics, then represented for the first time, did the same. Thus, thanks to Captain Mahan's action in 1899 and his continued influence in United States naval circles in 1907, our country stands alone among the world's forty-five powers, on the reactionary and inhuman side of the question of asphyxiating projectiles.

Again, in the first Hague Conference, Captain Mahan joined forces with his army colleague, Captain William Crozier, to cast the United States' vote *against* the prohibition of the use of "dum-dum" bullets, which had earned the reputation of inflicting jagged and unnecessarily cruel wounds. On this occasion, the British and Portuguese delegations were the only others of the twenty-six present which cast negative votes, and of these the British Government had the interest of the inventor and proprietor in defending the obnoxious bullets. At the second conference, the British and Portuguese governments yielded to the enlightened public opinion of the civilized world and gave their support to the prohibition of 1899, and the Latin American republics did the same; but the United States Government still stands by its guns, or bullets, or Captain Mahan. Thus, although "dum-dum" were originally British chest-nuts, and although they have been pronounced worm-eaten by the British themselves, our United States Government, thanks largely to Captain Mahan's reactionary principles, still insists on pulling them out of the fire. Prince Metternich, intent on plucking the princely power of the old régime from the ashes of the French Revolution's conflagration and opposing it to the rising tide of popular sovereignty, would have had a warm feeling of fellowship with our American captain's opposition of asphyxiating gases and "dum-dum" bullets to the twentieth century's rising tide of humanity and justice towards every member of the family of nations.

Again, Captain Mahan is one of the chief leaders in that coterie of promoters of a big navy, some of whom insist that this country shall have peace at any price, no matter how many billions we may

have to expend on "Dreadnoughts" or how many wars we may have to fight, to retain and protect it. But the new-born and singular doctrine of some of these promoters that enormously and indefinitely increasing armaments is the best way to insure international arbitration, is frankly rejected by Captain Mahan, whose naval commission has recently published as axiomatic the assertion that there should be no check or change of method in expanding from a state of peace to a state of war. For "this is not militarism," the commission argues; "it is a simple business principle based upon the fact that success in war is the only return the people and the nation can get from the investment of many millions in the building and maintenance of a great navy."

Fortunately, this distinguished naval officer of ours was not permitted to lay his frosty hand upon the Permanent Court of Arbitration established in 1899 by such truly American representatives as Andrew D. White and Frederick W. Holls, and by such progressive international statesmen as Lord Pauncefoot, Count Nigra, Chevalier Descamps, and Léon Bourgeois.

I need not review before this Association of History Teachers "The Influence of Sea Power upon History," for, in common with thousands of our colleagues, most of us have probably devoted many precious hours in exploiting its pages before our classes. I desire here merely to point out the ruling passion of its author and to indicate its place in historical literature. As Captain Mahan, in his reactionary internationalism reminds us of Prince Metternich, so in the themes of his book he recalls Sir Walter Scott and Baron Jomini.

As the rise of industry in the cities of mediaeval Europe made of the feudal castle a picturesque ruin and obscured the robber baron in a mist of romantic glamor, so the rise of the Peace Power to supremacy has converted the cavalry squadron into a constable's staff and the warship into a policeman's club. Sir Walter Scott has embalmed in literature for the amused interest of posterity the jousts and tournaments of the days of chivalry; and Jomini and Mahan, taking their themes more seriously, to be sure, because their proximity made them loom the larger, have recorded the strategy and tactics, the bulleting and butting and buffeting of guns and

bayonets, of rams and rigging. How we are thrilled in the pages of Mahan by "the great smashing effect of carronades," or "the great penetrative power of long range guns"; how breathlessly we pursue "the tactical uniformity of action," and "the attack by lee or weathergage"; and how we are led to marvel that a certain attempt should have been made to "carry by boarding" instead of to "sink by ramming."

When the duel and the prize-fight shall have found their "gifted historians," their literature also, the picturesque and romantic account of thrust and parry, of upper cut and solar plexus will take its place beside the historical novel and the histories of drum and trumpet, of topsail, manœuvre and larboard attack.

Meanwhile, why is it that military and naval histories have come to seem to us so much beside the mark? Captain Mahan, in speaking of massed attacks upon the enemy's fleet under changing conditions of naval warfare, complains that "men's minds are so constituted that they seem more impressed by transiency of the conditions than by the undying principle which coped with them." Now, Captain Mahan may feel entirely reassured upon this point, in so far as the transiency of warfare and the eternal principle of international peace are concerned. Men's eyes and ears are no longer blinded or deafened by powder smoke or roar of guns; and they have detected through the tumult and the shouting the great truth that the strongest power in all this world, and the power beside which all other means of regulating international relations fade into utter insignificance, is the great combination of forces to which the name of Peace Power may be applied. Captain Mahan dimly realizes this fact and complains that "a peaceful, gain-loving nation is not farsighted, and farsightedness is needed for adequate military preparation, especially in these days."

Our modern eyes have certainly not that kind of farsightedness; for how naive and childish now seems cavalry charge or volley of grape shot on fields whose endless succession of harvests is momentarily disturbed by some "famous victory"; or how we smile at the absorbed earnestness with which naval historians dramatize the dancing of hostile fleets towards each other, battering and banging in heroic abandon, coloring the ocean waves with human

blood, but all unconscious of the depths of ocean across which ten thousand fleets have swept in vain. And not only does militant man seem a puny pigmy when measured thus by Mother Nature's forces, but how immeasurably insignificant seems the war which he has stirred up as the means of solving international problems, when compared with the great forces, human and divine, which make up the power of Peace.

To our modern eyes, Captain Mahan's kind of "history" has two fatal defects. In the first place, it has given rise to a false and pernicious philosophy of international relations. A certain class of newspaper writers, misled by the spirit of Captain Mahan's "history," are indulging in such distorted views of international relations as are expressed in the two recently published paragraphs which follow. The *Salt Lake Tribune* fulminates as follows: "The Republic (*our* Republic, of course), triumphant, magnificent, bearing the olive branch of peace in one hand and the rod of castigation in the other, standing for humanity and justice throughout the world, will be the world's arbiter in time, and largely so from henceforth. And thus justice will be made to prevail throughout the world, and the arbiter of justice will be so strong, both on sea and land, so unassailable, that to attack him will be hopeless and peace will prevail because no hope of gain by going to war can possibly be entertained. And that is the kind of peace that must come to the world. A peace through the overwhelming majesty of the American Republic that is so strong as to be completely able to enforce it, and so just as to compel respect to that enforcement."

Again, a rear-admiral of the United States Navy concludes his account of the recent voyage around the globe as follows: "I wish that I might stop with the words 'peace' and 'good will' as my closing expression, the lingering savor of which must ever be most sweet to even the sternest warrior. But misunderstandings must be avoided and prevented. We have fellow countrymen just as conscientious, just as earnest, just as patriotic as any, who doubtless would ask in all sincerity: 'If all these love feasts be as described, why build more battleships?' The answer lies in the teachings of history (Captain Mahan's "history"), in the inexorable logic of past events. It would be futile to attempt here to marshal all the axioms

drawn from the world's experience in human nature. From the far-back days of the great Covenanters comes to us the sagest of all advice: 'Put your trust in Providence—and keep your powder dry.' ”

In the second place, Captain Mahan's "history" lacks perspective and true historical proportion, because it grossly exaggerates the trivial and the transient and asserts them to be the most important and the eternal. It would put in the place of the discredited drum and trumpet history, the equally discreditable siren and wig-wag history. Foot, horse, and dragoons having been driven by modern writers from the foreground of history into their relatively unimportant corners, where they properly belong; Captain Mahan would have us substitute in their places frigate, cruiser and torpedo boat. But as teachers of history, we protest against the gifts of any more false gods; and having found the eternal verities and the truly important in history, we will abide with them. And among these last, I count first and foremost the Peace Power.

Within the limits of a brief paper, this Peace Power can be hardly more than alluded to, or at most its outlines only may be suggested. In this attempt I may be permitted first, since I have adapted the title of Captain Mahan's book, to adapt also a portion of its preface, merely substituting for his term Sea Power the term Peace Power. His preface, then, would read, in part, as follows: "Historians generally have been unfamiliar with the conditions of peace, having as to it neither special interest nor special knowledge; and the profound determining influence of peace power upon great issues has consequently been overlooked. The definite object proposed in this work is an examination of the general history of Europe and America with particular reference to the effect of peace power upon the course of that history." But I may not follow thus page by page through Captain Mahan's ponderous tome, although it must be confessed that there is not much more of what is in very truth "the general history of Europe and America" in its 541 pages than might be put into a twenty minutes' paper.*

*In this connection, I have been interested to observe that in Professor Robinson's "History of Western Europe," the first 541 pages contained only about 70 which are devoted to both Sea Power and Land Power, and these pages include all the wars of Europe during fourteen hundred years of its most warlike period.

Peace Power is embodied in many things. Christianity, the moral code, literature, the drama, art, commerce, and the vast congeries of forces which make up what is conveniently known as economic internationalism, world's fairs and congresses, an enlightened public opinion, diplomacy, international law and international institutions, are some of the agencies utilized by this master power in human affairs.

Christianity, which has abolished slavery from all civilized lands, made the family "the sacred refuge of our race," tempered the despotism of autocrats, idealized popular government, universalized education, and exalted the dignity of labor, the worth of the individual, the rights of children and the duty of woman, has been a form of Peace Power which it would take hours to expound and libraries to estimate. The song of "Peace on Earth" which the angels sang when its founder was born, has rolled with increasing volume down the ages and, despite militant theologies and false philosophies of history, has become the great chorus of humanity in which the din of arms has gradually grown less and less.

As to the moral code: "History," says Froude, "is a voice forever sounding across the centuries the laws of right and wrong. Opinions alter, manners change, creeds rise and fall, but the moral law is written upon the tablets of eternity." They are written, also, he might have added, upon the human heart and are reflected more and more in human conduct. The history of man is largely a record of the increasing sway of justice and charity within the family, the tribe, the nation and the world.

Literature, the drama, and art, although they have been perverted at times to exalt the barbarism of warfare, have been in the main the obedient and potent agencies of peace. They have made plain to the wayfaring man the great ideals of peace, and enabled him who runs to read the fruitful lesson that even the peoples beyond the seas are animated by those ideals and are worthy of justice and love.

Economic internationalism, with its commerce in the luxuries, comforts and many of the necessities of life, with its foreign exchange and foreign loans, its commercial codes and means of intercommunication, has woven ever strengthening ties that bind the

merchants, manufacturers and laborers of all lands together in a community of interests which have made and are ever more making powerfully for peace.

The concourse of the peoples in world's fairs and congresses of manifold variety has taught not merely the arts of life, but has taught as well the duty and the method of an international life based upon peace and justice. From the Congress of Panama in 1826 to the second Hague Conference in 1907 there were held 119 congresses in which various governments of the world were officially represented; and during the same eighty years there were held more than 700 unofficial international gatherings.

Public opinion, which Ambassador Bryce has shown to be the supreme power behind our American government, has not only increased in its guiding and motive force within the various nations, but has become an *international* public opinion, and has been immensely strengthened and enlightened by the growing interchange of ideas and principles between the leaders of thought throughout the world. On how many occasions and with what beneficent results Peace Power has exerted a controlling influence upon national and international action by means of this "redoubtable sovereign of public opinion" would be too long to tell. Suffice it to recall here the words of a distinguished Belgian statesman and international jurist, M. Beernaert: "There is no assembly to-day which must not sit with windows opened, listening to the voices from outside"; and to remind you that even France and Germany have bowed to this great international Peace Power and agreed to submit to peaceful adjustment a *casus belli* whose gravity makes the cause of the War of 1870 pale into insignificance.

As to diplomacy: A distinguished American, who has recently become a private citizen, said in a speech on the 22d of February last, when he welcomed the home-coming of our earth-girdling navy: "You, the officers and men of this formidable fighting force, have shown yourselves the best of all possible ambassadors and heralds of peace." Shades of Franklin, the Adamses, Jay, Pinckney, Murray, Gallatin, Webster, Lincoln, and all ye illustrious galaxy of ministers plenipotentiary and envoys extraordinary who have adorned the annals of this and other lands with the renowned vic-

tories of peaceful diplomacy! Have your achievements been indeed thus forgotten or eclipsed? No, I cannot believe it. For, when the prevalent disease of Dreadnoughtitis shall have been operated out of our body politic, our historical judgments will swing back again from this Mahanesque extreme and we shall once more realize that statesmanship is still better than a warship in international diplomacy, and that the greatest diplomatic victories of the past—and there are thousands of them—have been those which preserved or restored peace between nations.

The glowing eulogies which jurists and publicists have lavished for centuries upon the common, civil and statute law of civilized lands, apply with peculiar force to international law as an agent of Peace Power. The book which revealed to the world the science of international law was written more than two centuries and a half ago; and yet of that book, which disclosed this form of Peace Power then only in its infancy, Andrew D. White has said: "Of all books ever written—not claiming divine inspiration—the great book of Grotius on 'War and Peace' has been of most benefit to mankind." For, he adds, "it developed and fructified human thought; it warmed into life new and glorious growths of right reason as to international relations; and the progress of reason in theory, and of mercy in practice (promoted by it), has been constant on both sides of the Atlantic." If such words as these may be truly uttered of the dawn of international law by a careful scholar, what can be adequately said of this potent agency of Peace Power as it has climbed to its noon-day splendor?

The number and variety of international institutions which already exist are a source of wonderment even to the close student of international affairs. The International Bureau on the Slave Trade, in Brussels; the International Bureau of Weights and Measures, in Berlin; the International Commission on Freedom of Trade through the Suez Canal, in Paris; the International Bureau of the Red Cross Movement, or of the Geneva Convention, in Geneva; the International Institute of Agriculture, which has recently held its first session in Rome; the International Association of Chambers of Commerce, which met last in Milan; the various international bureaus located at Berne, including those for the Protection of

Industrial, Literary and Artistic Property, Railway Transportation, Protection against Phylloxera (supported by five powers), the Bureau of Telegraphy, with forty branches in as many countries, and a Bureau of the Universal Postal Union, which is used and supported by fifty different postal administrations; the International Health Bureau, in Paris; the Bureau of the Twenty-one American Republics, in Washington; the International High Court of Central America, which has jurisdiction over differences arising between the five contracting republics, and which has just handed down its first two decisions on the claims of Honduras and Nicaragua against Salvador and Guatemala; International Commissions of Inquiry, one of which prevented a probable war between Great Britain and the United States over the Venezuelan boundary question, and another a war between Great Britain and Russia over the incident of the Dogger Bank; arbitral tribunals which have settled more than six hundred international disputes since the foundation of our Union; the Permanent Court of Arbitration, at The Hague, which has already settled four important international controversies, and to which the United States and Great Britain and Venezuela, and Germany and France, have just referred sundry knotty problems of long standing; the International Prize Court, adopted by the second Hague Conference; the Court of Arbitral Justice, which is now in process of establishment; the sixteen conventions and six declarations adopted by the two Hague Conferences; and the three score treaties of obligatory arbitration negotiated by the nations since the first Hague Conference,—more than a score of which are the work of a single great Secretary of State, Mr. Elihu Root. Such is a partial list of the economic, moral and legal institutions which the family of nations has established for the expression and preservation of the powers of international peace and justice.

And such is a faint image of that Peace Power whose controlling influence upon past history it will take another generation of historical writers adequately to record; whose exclusive influence upon the future of international relations has already dawned; and whose faithful, enthusiastic and fruitful study will engage the devoted attention of this and succeeding generations of students and teachers of history.

Permit me, in concluding this prosy paper, to borrow the poetic words of one of England's poets and express in them the thought which has inspired this paper.

The knights rode up with gifts for the king,
And one was a jeweled sword,
And one was a suit of golden mail,
And one was a golden word.

He buckled the shining armor on,
And he girt the sword at his side;
But he flung at his feet the golden word,
And trampled it in his pride.

The armor is pierced with many spears,
And the sword is breaking in twain;
But the word has risen in storm and fire
To vanquish and to reign.

THE PEACE POWER IN HISTORY

WILLIAM E. LINGELBACH

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An apology is due the association for my appearance on the program this morning. Our committee had carefully arranged to have a group of well-known advocates of universal peace, but at the last moment one of the number found he could not be here. A hurried consultation with Professor Herrick over the telephone, a provisional consent to substitute on my part, and I now find myself the discordant note in this symphony of peace. I am not even a descendant of William Penn, among whom the founder's spirit seems to linger even to the ninth and tenth generation.

But to come to the subject, "The Peace Power in History." This morning Dr. Hull has defined clearly enough what he means by the peace power. But about a week ago I was quite unable to get it out of him. He seemed to act on the rule of military strategy that it is best to keep the plan of campaign secret and would not reveal even the outline of his proposed attack. He planned to camp on Captain Mahan's trail. That was all I could get. Now, if an advocate of peace is obligated to anything it should be to conduct his campaign in the open. There has been so much written on the passing of the sword and the advent of the plough and so much said on the triumph of the Peace Power that I looked for some analysis of the growth of this movement in the history of the last century or two. I hoped to get a survey of the important cases in which the *peace-power* rather than the *sea-power* showed itself the stronger. For I believe Captain Mahan is right in his contention that "the *sea-power* is the dominant factor in the destiny of Nations." On the other hand, I cannot agree with the main terms of Professor Hull's indictment of Captain Mahan. An historical book should not

be judged too exclusively by standards of political morality or ethics a particular group has set up. Strict compliance with the demands of the scientific method in the collection and presentation of facts is in a last analysis the touchstone historians will apply in estimating Mahan's work, and as historians we cannot condemn the *Influence of Sea Power in History* even if it is being used as a means of furthering the war propaganda.

With respect to the peace power in history I fear my ideas will be regarded as extremely materialistic in the light of the emphasis upon ideals and theories in the other papers. To me the first of all the forces making for peace, in the past, as in the present, is economic in character. Economic exhaustion generally compels peace and the mere fear of it averts war. What among other reasons makes Japan so chary of a war with the United States and what made her anxious for peace in 1905? An empty treasury and the inability to float successfully further loans, and a people crushed under the heavy burden of a war tax.

To wage war to-day on the scale on which it must be waged by the modern state is an economic impossibility except at the imminent risk of national suicide. The cost of a war, coupled with the dislocation of industry, the necessary neglect of agriculture and the consequent decrease in the food supply, the hunger and starvation in the great industrial centres, make a great war of the future well-nigh impossible. Consider, for example, the effects of war upon a nation's life to-day. Great Britain has not yet recovered from the war in South Africa. In the case of Russia's unsuccessful war with Japan and France's disasters in the Franco-Prussian war the direct effects upon the political situation are apparent. The strongest government risks its very existence by entering upon a war to-day.

States of to-day are organized on a democratic basis. Louis XIV may have been the state, as he is supposed to have said, but the state of to-day is the nation in all its complex organism with the ruling factor a great body of citizens and public opinion. The nineteenth century has witnessed the transfer of power from the few to the many. The pyramid no longer stands on its apex, but on its base. Hence, too, there is a much saner view on the question

of war and peace. The needs of the masses of the wage earners, the interests of capital, of great corporate enterprise expanding to-day its manifold ramifications beyond the bounds of the nation, all operate in favor of peace.

The terrible dangers of a war in our day arise in part from the *armed peace*, a condition clearly suggested by Washington 100 years ago, "to be prepared for war is one of the most effective means of preserving peace," and only last week restated with such emphasis by the new President. Or as Frederick the Great conceived it, to maintain peace be prepared for war, that is, be sure you command "the first shot and the last dollar." An armed peace resting on a financial system that imposed increasing burdens on the people. And by many it is claimed that this is the only effective peace power in history. It is as if in private life we all went about armed to the teeth to preserve law and order, or as if we all acted upon the assumption that only the fear of a six-shooter prevented us from stealing our neighbor's purse or possibly cutting his throat. Now if this theory be correct, the avoidance of war seems in some respects as bad as the disease. But I do not believe that it is correct. The armed peace, it seems to me, is only a temporary condition. Why should civilized nations continue so suicidal a policy?

Note especially the difference in the items for the Army and Navy and for education. Can this kind of thing last? Why should the great results from the increased productive power in the economic world of the last century be so completely devoured by armaments, intrinsically of no value? There must be a readjustment; and history, it seems to me, affords clear proof of the line on which it is being brought about.

Some years ago I made a careful study of the practice of intervention among nations, and if the practice shows anything it shows that, not only have the powers been compelled to an increased degree to adjust matters of private and personal difference without taking recourse to war, but that the right of waging war is being more and more limited. The minor states are to-day inhibited from indulging in this costly pastime.

Belgium, Denmark, Greece, Servia, etc., are examples in point. To play at war would ruin their revenues, and upon these, larger

powers and their capitalists have claim. And herein, it seems to me, lies the most potent *peace power*. It is a compelling force towards the establishment of a recognized system of international law. It has further contributed largely to the very desirable overthrow of that undue respect for the supreme and sovereign rights of the individual state. Necessity has gradually forced us to abandon this fetish and accept the much saner idea that there is a right superior to, and above that of the individual state, namely the collective right of the community of states. The history of the practice of intervention shows how this idea has slowly gained ground. It shows how states have proceeded from the basis of a group right; the higher interests of the community of nations, as opposed to those of the individual political unit. Individual rights do not appear in practice as the "ne plus ultra" in international law any more than in national law, and the assertion by many commentators that intervention can have no legal status, because it is antagonistic to the highest of all international rights, namely, the right of independence, is therefore based upon a false assumption and contrary to the attitude of the leading nations. The practice of nations indicates that they have proceeded from a different assumption; they have assumed that the society of states has certain obligations which states owe to each other, and which no state is at liberty to violate; that there is a power residing outside the individual state superior to it, which assumes to dictate what the individual state may or may not do in its dealings with others; that there is a right superior to national right, and which in a measure controls national will.

What is needed, of course, is the establishment in International Law of a sanction. National law has provided regularly appointed and disinterested agencies for the determination and enforcement of the rules governing the individual members of society. This is unfortunately lacking in international relations. There is no organized authority. But we have it in embryo, in the permanent Hague tribunal, in treaties between states in which they obligate themselves to submit all cases of a certain class to it for adjudication, and to a growing public opinion in favor of the introduction of saner methods into the relations of nations to each other.

And it is in the creation of this public sentiment that peace societies and propaganda can contribute most. Not by dwelling too constantly on the ethical side of the question, significant as it is, but upon the simpler practical factors of the situation, which seem to me economic and legal. It is sometimes argued that if this is true then universal peace will come regardless of propaganda. Possibly so, but we usually have to work to accomplish an end worth attaining. Those who constantly try to discredit the peace propaganda remind me of the Irishman who remarked after he had watched the hunter bring down an eagle from its airy perch, "And faith, he moight have saved his powder, the fall would have killed the bird anyway."

THE INFLUENCE OF PEACE POWER UPON HISTORY

STANLEY R. YARNALL

FRIENDS' SCHOOL, GERMANTOWN

The Committee of Arrangements for this Meeting seem to have made a mistake in the order selected for the speakers on this morning's program. To place a school master after a University and College Professor is to prepare an anti-climax.

I shall in this morning's talk confine myself to a few obvious facts on the subject of the growth and development of the peace idea as an influence in history. If it were not for the fact that as I go about talking and conversing on this subject, I find few people who have seriously considered its importance, I should fear to come before you with only platitudes this morning. It may be that to many of you I shall be treading on familiar ground, and to such I have no apology to offer, for I think we have a common interest in a great cause.

The great reasons that have made for strife and conflict in the world's history are those to be found in the supremacy of the family, the supremacy of the tribe, the supremacy of the race and the supremacy of the country. It is a truism of history that the family is the beginning of organized life, and as one casts one's mind back into the dim past the idea of the family life is supreme. The protector of the family was necessarily in a state of suspicion and defiance against every other family head, and as civilization advances the same idea of distrust and violence is transferred to the tribe, and so by natural evolution passes from the tribe to the race or country; a condition of mutual hate, distrust and conflict. These ideas naturally develop a desire to exploit the weak. The incentives to plunder, rapine and territorial expansion are manifestations of the same spirit. As civilization advances, little by little these narrow ideas have disappeared in the broader view of national and inter-

national life. Pride of race in the old warlike sense has died or is slowly dying in most countries today. The idea of territorial expansion is still a potent cause of rumors of war. Nevertheless even this ancient cause of warfare has changed its significance and will continue to change as our conception of international commerce develops. The open door policy in foreign lands, the growth of international investment and combinations of capital, will sooner or later do away with the idea of assimilating territory for the sake of commercial gain.

It would be interesting, if the limits of time were not too narrow, to rapidly review the growth of the peace idea from ancient times, and to glance at Hebrew prophecy with its narrow conception of a Jewish state and a God for Hebrews only, to the dream of the idealist guiding one slowly but surely to the social and economic progress of to-day. One may, however, fairly start such a discussion with Christianity; the power that makes possible the world in which we live. Yet we all know that the Disciples of Christ failed to grasp the largeness of the message, and regarded Christianity as a new cult for Jews alone, until the true beauty and strength of the conception of Jesus burst upon Paul of Tarsus. It is in his life and through his words that we gain the first glimpse in the broad way of Christ's teaching, where there is neither Greek nor Jew, barbarian, Scythian, bond or free, and together with this, one should place that other Disciple whom Jesus loved, who as an old man on Patmos saw the vision of a new Heaven and a new earth, ten thousand times ten thousand and thousands of thousands, a great number which no man could number of all nations and kindreds and peoples and tongues.

Here we have the beginning of the idea of the world as the dwelling place of brothers. At first, however, the social effect of Christianity was small. The race and family idea still prevailed, and there was little or no effort for centuries to make Christianity a power upon existing political conditions. The *pax Romana* disappeared in the gloom of the dark ages, over which we will pass with a hurried word, but amid this time of confusion and conflict there was arising through the Church a new power which sometimes exercises itself through the *pax Ecclesiastica*. Then the Church

spoke the message of Christ to a world in conflict, spoke it in a selfish way no doubt, and yet this word contained the germ and promise of future understanding and co-operation. There was even then a power which drew men together and raised their ideas by the authority of Religion, and an idea of brotherhood far higher and nobler than that of pagan days.

The real growth of the peace power received a great impetus in the Seventeenth Century. There are four great events of that Century significant to one interested in the subject.

First: The great design of Henry the Fourth of France, as one has said, the first interpreter to his country of the larger idea of the international life. His dream of the peace of Europe through international agreement was ended by his assassination in 1615, at a time when his scheme was interesting many courts.

Second: Hugo Grotius and his great work on the "Rights of War and Peace." He drew his inspiration from Henry the Fourth, the great patron. Exile and diplomatic service had ripened his judgment and he spoke with the authority of a philosopher. In no uncertain tones he denounced the facility with which Christian Princes went to war while he pled for arbitration and for organized machinery of justice to do away with conflict. Already this morning we have heard of the immense fame of his book, which may be considered the foundation of International Law.

Third: There was born in 1624, in England, a man who stirred that country to its depths, and who stated again in words of matchless courage and simplicity the truth of the inner light; George Fox, whose teaching was repeated in his followers who exemplified in their life and practice the statement that the spirit and life of Jesus left no place for war and the spirit from which it springs. One can scarcely underestimate his influence in England nor the extent of that influence in the religious, social and economic life of the world since that day.

Fourth: And perhaps most important, William Penn's plan for the peace of Europe in 1694. Reference has already been made in appropriate terms by the President of your Association to the work of the great founder of Pennsylvania in establishing his holy experiment on the virgin soil of his province; an experiment which

was conducted with perfect success while all the Colonies, north and south, were in constant dread of Indian massacre. Not until long after the founder's death, when other councillors were supreme, was the peace of the Province broken by the Indians. This was the first practical attempt to carry out in a large way the policy of non-resistance in government. William Penn's principle is that war may always be avoided if men wish to avoid it.

Passing on to the Eighteenth Century one comes to the age of philosophy and reason, and here it will be enough to mention briefly St. Pierre and Rousseau of France, Bentham of England and the development of economic argument for international intercourse and friendship by Adam Smith and Turgot. The work of these philosophers, which marks a new stage in the development of peace, culminated in the "Perpetual Peace of Emmanuel Kant." This was the first expression of a federation of the world in an international state, based on Republican principles.

One need not dwell long on the recent development of this idea. The Hague Conferences of 1899 and 1906 are facts which need no comment. At the first was established the permanent International Court of Arbitration. The second, while as yet generally misunderstood, has paved the way for the International Court of Prize and the International Court of Arbitral Justice. The convention contained in the Final Act of the Second Hague Conference with regard to the second of these courts, in the judgment of many international lawyers, makes it possible for three or more powers to establish such a Court, and when once established, this will be the Supreme Court for the nations of the world to which all differences may be referred.

Elihu Root, the great Secretary of State under the last administration, was deeply interested in the establishment of such a Court, and it may be that during this administration it may become a reality. The two Hague Conferences are but indications of a great fact in the world's development, of which few persons are yet conscious. It is that the world has entered actively upon an era of international co-operation.

Perhaps this statement will be clearer if I summarize the number of International gatherings, official and non-official from 1826,

the Congress of Panama, to the second Hague Conference in 1907. In the *American Journal of International Law* (Volume I, Page 567), the Hon. Simeon E. Baldwin has an article on the "International Congresses and Conferences of the Last Century as a Force Working toward the Solidarity of the World." He estimates that during these eighty years there have been one hundred and nineteen international official gatherings, and during the same period one hundred and eighty-five important international conferences or associations of private citizens. This list, in the judgment of some historians, could be extended almost indefinitely.

The purposes of these conferences are as varied as the interests of men, and range from the practical arrangements for international postage, Red Cross, Weights and Measures, etc., to the solution of scientific problems, the regulation of hours of labor for women, the best means of combating tuberculosis, etc.

There can be only one inference, that we are living in a period of co-operation and that gatherings of the men of different nations in these Congresses, whether official or unofficial, become all the time more influential.

Last summer in London, I saw a map representing in graphic form the International treaties of arbitration then existing between the powers of Europe and America and the Orient. One can scarcely realize the significance of such a map without seeing it. Stretching from capital to capital were lines representing these treaties until all Europe seemed to be a great web shot through and through by a shuttle of peace. More than eighty such treaties between nations in pairs have been ratified within the last five years, and if the map which I saw had been brought up to date, there would now be stretching from Washington across the ocean twenty-four lines to represent the treaties of International arbitration ratified by the Senate this year—the great and crowning achievement of Secretary Root, who has done more for the cause of International Arbitration than any other statesman our country has produced. These treaties are again but an indication of a condition which makes them possible. Within the last century more than two hundred and sixty important controversies between nations have been settled by arbitration, and in the next century may we

not expect that the principle of settling international difficulties in this way will become supreme?

The failure of the second Hague Conference to arrange an International Treaty of Arbitration between all the powers represented was a distinct disappointment, and yet of forty-four powers, thirty-five voted for a general obligatory arbitration treaty. These thirty-five powers represented populations of one billion, two hundred and eighty-five millions. Four powers refrained from voting, representing fifty-five millions. Five powers voted against it, representing one hundred and sixty-seven million. Nine powers against thirty-five, two hundred and twenty-two millions against one billion, two hundred and eighty-five millions.

In very recent times arbitration has settled such questions as the Mexican boundary, the Alaskan boundary and postal rates. The vexed question of the fisheries, between the United States and England, goes to The Hague. Germany and France have submitted the Casa Blanca dispute to arbitration. Turkey has had a bloodless revolution, and has adjusted the Bulgarian trouble without war. Indeed, it is significant that the war scares that sweep over Europe are storms without rain. The Balkan crisis was heralded as a fertile cause of war that could not be averted. It was to be the bomb that would explode and imperil all Europe in one of the great wars of history, and yet these wars did not come. The Servian crisis I doubt not will be averted as the Bulgarian has been.

These facts point to one conclusion, that the world has passed away from a time when every slight international crisis led inevitably to warfare, and that men have come to see that nothing is gained by war in the way of justice and that the larger and greater nations refuse to be imperiled by every petty question of the smaller powers. They recognize that there are economic and social questions that are far deeper than the slight surface eruptions which give the editors and reporters their cheap opportunity.

One of the most striking examples of the aversion of war by the organized machinery of peace is the North Sea incident between England and Russia, at the time of the Russia-Japanese War. Professor John Bassett Moore gives an account of this incident in the Lake Mohonk Conference report of 1905. The inci-

dent was a serious one. In the summer of 1904 there was considerable diplomatic friction between England and Russia. On the 22d of October the "gamecock" Fleet of Hull, as it is called, was anchored for the night and happened to lie in the path of a Russian cruiser which had been told that Japanese torpedo boats were lurking in their path. Through a most unfortunate, and it would seem unpardonable mistake, one division of the Russian fleet opened fire, which lasted ten to twelve minutes, and as a result two English seamen were killed and six wounded, one trawler was sunk and five were hit and damaged by shell explosions. England was notified at once and correspondence between Lord Lansdowne and Count Lamsdorff was most direct and vigorous. In the midst of this diplomatic correspondence, with public opinion in England growing more excited all the time, the proposal was made that a full inquiry into the facts should be made by an independent court of an international character, this court to be composed of naval officers of high rank, representing the powers immediately concerned, and three others, and to constitute a body analogous to that provided for by Articles nine and fourteen of The Hague Convention.

This court was at once established, the crisis averted and the whole matter settled as it should have been settled by a few reasonable men sitting around a table. The Russian Government promptly paid the claims for damages amounting to upwards of sixty thousand pounds, and thus ended one of the most agitating and difficult controversies to which the process of arbitration has ever been applied.

In summing up the incident Professor Moore says: "A day or two ago the question was discussed here as to the desirableness of excluding from arbitration questions of national honor or vital interest; but I venture to say that in this North Sea incident there were involved both questions of national honor and questions of vital interest. Surely nothing can more affect the honor or the interests of a government than the wrongful taking of the lives of its people, especially at the hands of the officials of a foreign power. Not only is the arbitral settlement of the North Sea incident a proof of the growth in the world of a magnanimous and enlight-

ened spirit, but it is to be placed among the great cases in which that mode of settlement has brought peace and honor, to the lasting benefit of the powers immediately concerned and to the great advantage of the whole world."

Yet all these facts with regard to the development of the peace idea in history are insignificant compared with the progress made in America. The practical neutralization of our Great Lakes is one of the most significant facts in American History. After the War of 1816 the United States and Great Britain began building new fleets. In 1816 John Quincy Adams was the United States Minister to the court of St. James. On his return to the United States he became a member of the Cabinet, and proposed that no nation should build or maintain vessels on the Great Lakes. His proposal was accepted by simple agreement. There was not even a formal treaty, and yet this agreement has been considered binding ever since. The purpose of eliminating fleets and vessels of war from the Great Lakes is thus tersely stated, "in order to avoid collision and save expense." President Eliot has called this chain of lakes our best protected frontier. It is protected by the absence of suspicion and incentives to conflict, more safely than it would be if all the Dreadnoughts of England and the United States were floating on the waters of Lake Superior.

We have to carry this principle only a little farther, as one great advocate of peace suggested, and to neutralize the two oceans, leaving a sort of cockpit to be avoided by commerce, through general international agreement, where any belligerent nations with a desire for military glory could go as to the football field or polo ground, and have some real international sport without interfering with the business of the world at large which might not care to pay the price of admission.

But the great fact in the international life of this continent is the Bureau of American Republics. This has been established with headquarters at Washington; a federation of twenty-one nations which is to be housed in the Temple of Peace, of which the corner stone was laid about a year ago and for the erection of which Mr. Carnegie has donated seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars. The governing board of this Bureau consists of all the Latin-

American countries, presided over by the Secretary of State of the United States, who is the Chairman Ex-Officio. The Hon. John Barrett, the Secretary of the Bureau, is not an officer of the United States alone, but just as much an officer of the Argentine Republic, Mexico, Chili, Peru, Cuba and other nations of the great south-land.

In speaking of the leadership of the United States in this federation, he dwells upon the spirit that should animate our country in its international relations, as follows:

"I want to impress upon you that all Latin Americans to-day are watching you, are watching us, in a critical spirit. They are not seeking to follow us unless we show that we are worthy of leadership, and it is idle to assume that just because we are a great and powerful country we are the only one that is attracting them. There is Europe which they are studying closely, and they are not going to follow us unless we make good. Therefore, the responsibility rests upon every man and every woman who is interested in the welfare of our country to help solve the great problem, so that we may deserve the support and following of the Latin Americans. We shall soon see the dawning of that time when war upon the Western Hemisphere shall be abolished, and when there shall be peace from Canada to Patagonia, and when arbitration shall be the settlement of every character of dispute."

What is the significance of all this? Let me repeat, it is that there is a new era of internationalism, that there is an enlarged conception in our ideas of statesmanship. As these facts come crowding in upon us as evidence of the world's life, they sweep us away from narrow ideas of nationality.

The old idea of the family as distinct from every other family, of nation against nation and people against people, is inconceivable especially in America, this great country where peoples of all races and colors and creeds unite in a common democracy. Here there should be wrought out a new idea of brotherhood and responsibility in international life. The movement has just begun. There is no reason for discouragement at the present outlook. I am not in the least appalled at the present mad naval crazes that have obsessed the various cabinets of the world. These movements are

not to be looked at as matters of yesterday and to-day, but they are to be looked at in the sweep of the centuries. The ship of international state is sailing on, nothing can retard that majestic progress. The growth in naval development just now seems but the sweeping in of some back current produced by this progress, and it will pass. Yet we may well deplore the existence of such madness and such folly in the face of overwhelming facts. Historians of the future will marvel at such a display of insane terror at a time when the peace of the world seemed guaranteed by international agreement as never before in the history of the world. Let us not be swept from our moorings by these conditions, but look calmly at things as they are and allow our hope to expand and grow as we face the future. We have need of large patience in our hope. We have need, as educated men and women, entrusted with the duty of teaching history to boys and girls and young men and young women, to take noble views of international affairs and to raise a high standard when we speak of the present day movements in the world.

A few moments ago reference was made by one of the speakers to Japan. He said, if I remember correctly, that Japan is prevented from declaring war by poverty and fear of economic conditions. To such an opinion I demur. It seems to me that any such conception of international life is based on false premises, and that it becomes men and women of broad outlook and generous principles to rise above such an ignoble conception of a noble nation. There are in Japan, as there are in our own country, in exalted positions of state, of authority and of influence, men of the highest type of patriotism and idealism; men who place before themselves in the administration of their great offices the noblest ideals of international obligation and good will. To state that chance economic conditions are the leading principles of such men's lives is to belittle and insult them. Let us rather conceive in its true light the chivalry of that great people. Let us welcome their cordial expressions of good will and reciprocate them in the spirit in which they are made.

Here and there in our classes in school and college and university there are boys and girls marked from the mass by some high

talent, some noble purpose, some ability for culture or leadership. Let it be our purpose so to grasp the significance of our calling that we may ennoble and enlarge their ideas of history and of the motives of international leaders. One here and one there will rise to positions of eminence in state and country. They will become leaders of men. It is the high privilege of our American teachers of history to make them men of vision. Economic, religious and social elements of life are combining a new fabric of world-wide interest and significance. Let us regard this as the great fact in the world's life of to-day and so regarding it let us inspire those who are in our care and responsive to our teaching with this idea.

TREASURER'S REPORT

1908-1909

RECEIPTS

Balance on hand March 14, 1908.....	\$143.68
Dues paid during year.....	167.00
Received from sale of reports.....	2.50
	\$313.18

DISBURSEMENTS

Printing and stationery.....	\$19.15
Postage	29.65
Clerical help	3.00
Express	3.35
Carriage for speaker.....	2.20
Exchange	.60
	\$57.95
Balance on hand.....	\$255.23

Audited and found correct, March 13th, 1909.

HENRY WILLIS,
JESSIE C. EVANS,
D. C. KNOWLTON.

CONSTITUTION

Article I. Name and Purpose.

This Association shall be known as the "Association of History Teachers of the Middle States and Maryland." Its purpose shall be two-fold: first, to advance the study and teaching of history and

government through discussion and publication, and secondly, to promote personal acquaintance among teachers and students of history.

Article II. Membership.

Any one interested in the study of teaching of history in the Middle States and Maryland shall be eligible to membership. Application for membership shall be accepted or rejected by a vote of the Council at its meeting next following the receipt of such application.

Article III. Officers.

The officers shall be a president, a vice-president, and a secretary (who shall also act as treasurer), who, with the retiring president and four others, shall constitute a council in which shall be vested the general direction of the affairs of the Association, including the appointment of any necessary committees. The members of the Council, with the exception of the retiring president, who is *ex officio* a member, shall be elected by ballot at the annual meeting.

Article IV. Meetings.

The annual meetings of the Association shall be held on the second Friday and Saturday in March, at the place annually designated by the Council.

Article V. Annual Dues.

The membership fee shall be \$1.00, payable at the time of the annual meeting.

Article VI. Amendments.

This Constitution may be amended at any regular meeting by a two-thirds vote of those present, notice of the proposed amendment having been given in the call for the meeting.

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Evans, Jessie C.,	High School for Girls,	Philadelphia, Pa.
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Goertner, Mrs. Rose,	Girls' Technical High School,	New York City.
Goodwin, W. Grant,	Curtis High School,	New York City.
Greene, Louise K.,	9th Grade and High School,	Montclair, N. J.
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